

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 EA-11 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15

USIA-15 RSR-01 /118 W

----- 032149

R 071435Z AUG 73

FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6047

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY RANGOON

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L NEW DELHI 9154

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, PINT, IN

SUBJ: VIOLENCE IN EASTERN INDIA

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM SENT ACTION NEW DELHI INFO BOMBAY, MADRAS  
FROM CALCUTTA 7 AUG 73 REPEATED TO YOU:

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L CALCUTTA 1458

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, PINT, IN

SUBJ: VIOLENCE IN EASTERN INDIA

REFS: A. CALCUTTA POLNOTE DATED JUNE 29, 1973 (NAGALAND:  
NAGALAND NATIONALIST ORGANIZATION ANNUAL GENERAL SESSION)

B. CALCUTTA POLNOTE DATED MAY 28, 1973 (WEST BENGAL:  
WHAT'S HAPPENED TO THE NAXALITES?)

C. CALCUTTA 1402

D. NEW DELHI 9015 (NOTAL)

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1. TO US, EASTERN INDIAN LOOKS SURPRINSINGLY QUIET THESE DAYS DESPITE SOME LIMITED VIOLENCE WHICH HAS TAKEN PLACE OVER THE PAST TWO MONTHS.

2. WE HAVE DIVIDED THE MATERIAL UNDER THREE MAIN HEADINGS: INSURGENCIES; NAXALISM; AND COMMUNAL (RELIGIOUS OR LINGUISTIC) DISTURBANCES.

3. THE TWO ACTIVE INSURGENCIES IN THE AREA (THOSE IN NAGALAND AND MIZORAM WITH SOME SPILLOVER IN MANIPUR) APPEAR TO HAVE LOST THEIR MOMENTUM AND TO BE CAPABLE OF ONLY LIMITED, THOUGH TROUBLESOME, VIOLENCE (AMBUSHES, ASSASSINATIONS, ETC.). THEIR MOVEMENT HAS BEEN GOING ON FOR MANY YEARS AT THE COST OF MANY LIVES WITH NO VISIBLE IMPROVEMENT IN THEIR SITUATION OR IMMINENT SETTLEMENT. IN SHORT, THE OVERWHELMING PULL OF INDIAN INFLUENCE AND FIREPOWER HAS PREVAILED AND THE INSURGENTS APPEAR TO BE LOSING ADHERENTS RATHER THAN RECRUITING THEM. AT THE SAME TIME THERE IS NO END IN SIGHT TO THE LOW-LEVEL VIOLENCE WHICH HAS WON PARLIAMENTARY AND PRESS NOTICE IN THE PAST WEEK (REF D). WE ATTEMPT TO KEEP TRACE OF DEATHS OF INDIAN FORCES AND HAVE SEEN AN AVERAGE OF 2-3 PER WEEK FOR PAST YEAR REPORTED IN THE EASTERN INDIAN PRESS (REF A).

4. WE HAVE DISCUSSED THE RECENT FLARE-UPS IN NAGALAND AND MANIPUR RECENTLY WITH GOC-IN-COMMAND GENERAL RAWLLEY (WHO EARLIER SERVED IN BOTH NAGALAND AND MANIPUR). HE TOLD CONSUL GENERAL THAT RECENT INCIDENTS DID NOT SIGNIFY A DETERIORATING SITUATION. RAWLLEY FEELS THAT THE GOI STRATEGY OF CAREFULLY REGULATED USE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST THE NAGAS COUPLED WITH POLITICAL CONCESSIONS HAS BEEN SUCCESSFUL, IN CONTRAST TO THE EARLIER POLICY OF MASSIVE VIOLENCE ("WE USED MORE VIOLENCE AGAINST THE NAGAS EARLY ON, PROPORTIONATE TO THE SIZE OF THE INSURGENCY, THAN YOU USED AGAINST THE VIET CONG AND NORTH VIETNAMESE") WHICH HE SAID HAD NOT WORKED WELL (IN PSYCHOLOGICAL TERMS). (IT IS ALSO THE CASE THAT SINCE 1967 MORE THAN HALF OF THE POPULATION OF MIZORAM HAS BEEN 'RESETTLED' IN 'PACIFIED VILLAGES' BY THE GOI.)

5. IN BRIEF TELEPHONIC CONVERSATION GOC-NAGALAND, MAJOR GENERAL A R DUTT TOLD CONGEN POL OFFICER THAT THERE WAS CONFIDENTIAL

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NOTHING UNUSUAL IN THE RECENT INCIDENTS BUT THAT NEVERTHELESS HE HAD BEEN SUMMONDED TO NEW DELHI BECAUSE "THE POLITICIANS GET NERVOUS WHEN PARLIAMENT MEETS".

6. HOME MINISTER DIXIT'S ESTIMATES OF SIZE OF NAGA REBEL GROUP (1300-1500) AND POSSESSION OF CHINESE ARMS TALLIES WITH WELL-KNOWN INFORMATION. WHAT WOULD BE SIGNIFICANT IS WHETHER ANY OF THE CHINESE ARMS ARE NEW OR WHETHER ANY OF THE NAGAS

HAVE RECENTLY (I.E. WITHIN THE PAST YEAR) BEEN TRAINED IN CHINA. THIS WE DO NOT KNOW AT PRESENT.

7. WEST BENGAL'S YOUTHFUL NAXALITES ALSO CONTINUE (REF) TO BE VERY QUIET THESE DAYS. THEY, ALONG WITH THE CPI(M), EITHER WERE NOT ABLE OR NOT INTERESTED IN PURSUING VIOLENT TACTICS DURING THE JULY 27 BANGLA BANDH (REF C). (EVEN NAXALITE JOURNALS HAVE RECENTLY CALLED TERRORISM OF 1970-71 PERIOD "LEFT-DEVIATIONISM" AND WORSE.) WEST BENGAL'S HIGH POLICE OFFICIALS, ALL OF WHOM WE SAW AUGUST 6, SAY THAT THERE IS NO SIGNIFICANT INCREASE IN NAXALITE ACTIVITIES IN RECENT MONTHS. DURING CG'S CALL ON WEST BENGAL INSPECTOR GENERAL OF POLICE AUGUST 7, LATTER DISPLAYED CHART SHOWING DRAMATIC RISE IN NAXALITE INCIDENTS TO OVER 1900 IN 1970 AND OVER 2600 IN 1971, THEN EQUALLY DRAMATIC DROP TO JUST OVER 100 IN 1972 AND TO 9 THROUGH MAY 1973. ASKED ABOUT MINISTER OF STATE'S COMMENT (REF D, PRA 2.C), HE SAID WITH A SMILE "IT MAY LOOK A BIT DIFFERENT FROM SUCH A GREAT DISTANCE". HE BELIEVES THAT SUCCESSFUL REPRESSION HAS BROKEN BACK OF MOVEMENT AND ENDED EARLIER VICIOUS CYCLE IN WHICH LEVEL OF VIOLENCE DRASTICALLY INTERFERRED WITH THE ECONOMY AND ITS DEVELOPMENT, THUS HEIGHTENING DESPERATION BRED OF EXTREME POVERTY AND REEADINESS TO RESORT TO VIOLENCE. PRESENT ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORTS OVER PAST MONTHS TO GET THINGS MOVING WERE CITED AS HIGHLY POSITIVE ELEMENT IN PRESENT SITUATION. WHILE HE FEELS (AND OTHER POLICE OFFICIALS AGREE) THE NAXALISM IS DEAD, HE ALSO STRESSED HEAVILY THAT UNLESS "DEMOCRATIC SOLUTIONS" ARE FORTHCOMING TO PROVIDE HOPE OF RELIEF FROM EXTREME POVERTY, THINGS COULD EASILY TAKE TURN FOR WORSE AGAIN.

8. THIRD MAJOR CATEGORY OF VIOLENCE AFFECTING EASTERN INDIAN SOCIETY IS THAT ARISING OUT OF ETHNIC/LINGUISTIC/RELIGIOUS TENSIONS. IN PAST NINE MONTHS THESE HAVE ERUPTED INTO EXTENSIVE  
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VIOLENCE ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS. IN OCTOBER/NOVEMBER 1972 THERE WAS WIDESPREAD ASSAMESE/BENGALI RIOTING ARISING OUT OF DIFFERENCES ON LINGUISTIC QUESTION; IN FEBRUARY 1973 THERE WAS ORIYA/BENGALI VIOLENCE IN BOTH ORISSA AND WEST BENGAL (CALCUTTA 0336); AND IN APRIL 1973 HINDU/MUSLIM CLASH VS OCCURRED IN AND AROUND HAZARIBAGH, BIHAR (CALCUTTA 0729). THESE AND OTHER TENSIONS RELATED TO OVER POPULATION, POVERTY, AND EVEN HUNGER, EXIST JUST BELOW THE SURFACE OF LIFE HERE AND ERUPT ON SEEMINGLY SLIGHT PROVOCATION.

9. IT IS A FACT THAT VIOLENCE IN EASTERN INDIA IS AT AN EXCEPTIONALLY LOW LEVEL AT PRESENT. WE DO NOT FORESEE ANY SIGNIFICANT RESURGENCE OF NAXALISM OR OF THE NAGALAND INSURGENCY IN THE NEAR FUTURE. THERE ARE QUITE OBVIOUSLY NO GROUNDS FOR COMPLACENCY, HOWEVER, IN A SITUATION WHERE THE TENSIONS

IDENTIFIED ABOVE EXIST WHICH CAN AND WILL OCCASIONALLY RISE  
TO THE POINT WHERE VIOLENCE RESULTS.  
PICKERING

UNQUOTE  
MOYNIHAN

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** n/a  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 07 AUG 1973  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** willialc  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
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**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1973NEWDE09154  
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**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS MOYNIHAN  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
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**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 73 A. CALCUTTA POLNOTE DATED JUNE 29, , 1973 (NAGALAND:  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** willialc  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 27 AUG 2001  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <27-Aug-2001 by boyleja>; APPROVED <23-Oct-2001 by willialc>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** VIOLENCE IN EASTERN INDIA FOLLOWING TELEGRAM SENT ACTION NEW DELHI INFO BOMBAY, MADRAS  
**TAGS:** PINS, PINT, IN  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005